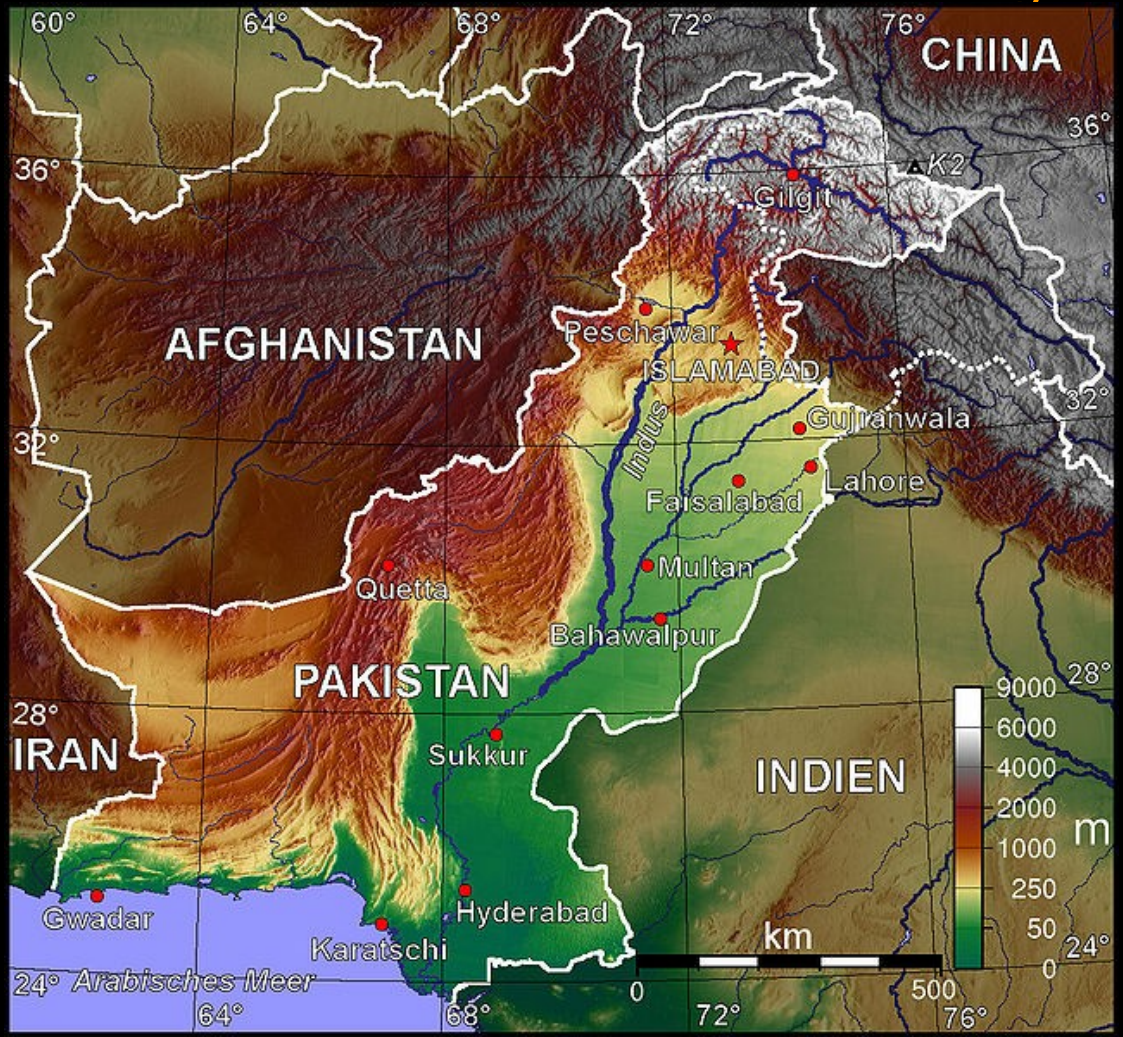
Pakistan's Impact on Afghanistan

Dr. Julian Schofield
Concordia University



Summary

- Cause of the Afghan War
- What Pakistan wants
- Engaging Islamic ideas in Afghanistan

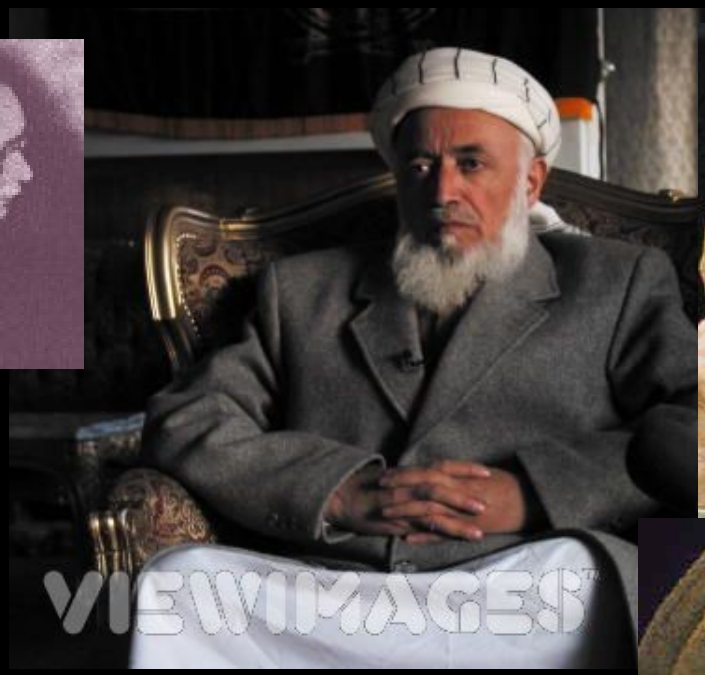
Conventional Wisdom Soviets caused Afghan War

- Soviet invasion Dec 1979

Start of the Afghanistan-Pakistan War

- July 17 1973: Afghan President (king's cousin and brother-in-law), Mohammad Daoud
- **Pakhtun separatist policy** + Marri and Mengal Baloch sanctuary (1974-1977) Pakistan

Islamists opposed Pashtunistan
Organization of MuslimYouth 1969

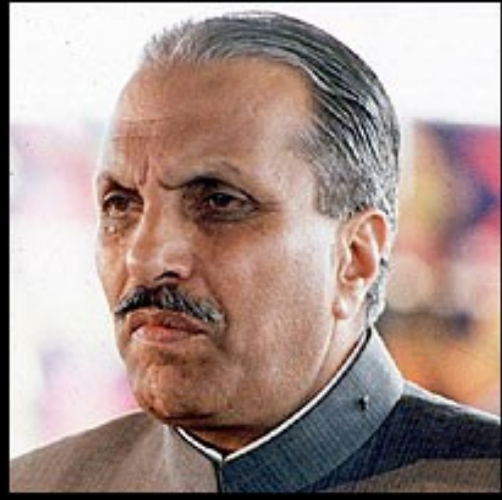


- Rabbani
- Sayyid Qutb of al Azhar University in Cairo
- jahiliyya

Z.A. Bhutto and Mujahideen

- 1973-74: Provides stipends, weapons and training
- 1974 Faizani coup fails
- 1975 Islamist Revolt failed; refugees NWFP
- Reorganize: Hekmatyar + Rabbani
- Bombings: Kabul + Jalalabad
- Pakistani and Afghan troops clash
- 1976 escalation Afghan + Pak sought invasion
- Bhutto asks Soviets to pressure Daud
- June/Aug 1976 Bhutto wins
  - Maintains support to Islamists

Zia ul-Haq and Mujahideen



- 1978
  - Assassination provokes PDPA
  - Saur Revolution 80,000 refugees
  - Invite Pakistani Pashtun to Kabul
  - 8 training camps established in NWFP
- Jan 1979: 5,000 mujahideen attack Asabad
- April 1979: mujahideen attack Jalalabad
- March 1979: uprising fails: Kabul, Jalalabad, Herat: USSR intervenes 10 months later
- July 3 1979 – US enters the conflict (Brzezinski)

Counterfactual

- If no Soviets, Kabul fallen in April 1982>April 1992 (=1929 revolt)
- Famines 1971+1972 + modernization v Islamists 1970
- **Why** Distortion: Cold War template + Afghan + Pak downplay local conflict
- **Solution**: treat it as the local war it is: get the parties to negotiate a settlement
- Mantra: Taliban victory in Afghanistan will collapse

Policy Panic: Myth of Pakistan's Imminent Collapse

- Barnett Rubin: "The stability of Pakistan, a nuclear-weapons state that has been the main source of proliferation over the past two-decades, is now at serious risk." Mar 09 For Aff
- *The Economist* January 2008

Paths of Pakistan’s Collapse

- Military Islamist Coup
- Civil War – Pashtun v Punjab
- Islamic Electoral Victory

Coup

- Pakistan army not coup-proofed
- Corps Commanders Conference
- coup is very difficult without their approval
- 8 coups: none successful without military approval

Coups of Pakistan

1. Feb 1951 Pindi Conspiracy (failed)
2. Oct 1958 Gen Ayub Khan (mil > civ)
3. Mar 1969 Gen Yahya Khan (mil > mil)
4. Dec 1971 6th Arm Div Tikka Khan (failed)
5. Mar 1973 Military anti-Bhutto coup (failed)
6. Jul 1977 Zia ul-Haq (mil > civ)

   1988 assassination of Zia ul-Haq
7. Sep 1994 Gen. Zaheer-ul-Islam Abbasi (failed)
8. Oct 1999 Pervaiz Musharraf (mil > civ)

Corps Commanders Conference

- Corps: 20,000 to 60,000 soldiers

Strike Corps North (1st Corps) – Ma a

10 Corps – Rawalpindi (protect GHQ, Kahuta); 111 Bde

31 Corps – Bahawalpur (Punjab)

2 Corps – Multan (Punjab)

4 Corps – Lahore (Punjab)

30 Corps – Sialkot (Punjab)

12 Corps – Quetta

5 Corps – Karachi

9 Corps – Peshawar

Northern Area Command - Gilgit.

Director ISI

Director MI (Military Intelligence)

Self-Contained Military

- Military is self-contained
- Shaheen and Fauji foundation, hospitals, education
- Mercenary army – remains selective & voluntary no conscription.
- Cantonments, comptroller, contracts
- Most military believe in democracy (paradox).

Anti-Military Factions & Nuclear Security

- Jamaat-i-Islami
- Ulema-i-Islami
- Tehreek-e-Nafaz-e-Shriat-e-Mohhamadi (mil)
- Sipah-e-Sahaba (anti-Shia)
- Tehreek-e-Jaferia (Shia)
- Lashar-e-Jhangvi (anti-Shia in S Waziristan)
- Jamaat ul-Fuqra
- Harkat-ul-Mujahideen Al-alami (assassination)
- Tehrek-e-Taliban-Pakistan

Pakistan - Population Distribution

Punjab 90 million (also Seraiki)

Sindh 36 million

NWFP 23 million (Pashtun)

Mohajir (Urdu) 13 million (Karachi/Hyderabad)

Balochistan 6 million

FATA 4 million (Pashtun)

Hindko+Kashmir 8 million (NWFP/North Areas)

Total Population: 180 million (2009 est.)

Pakistan GDP US$ 144bn; 50% rural; $1,000 PPP/cap

Ethnic Breakdown of Military

	1990	2005	Change
Punjabi	65%	43%	- 22%
Sindhi	15%	23%	+ 8%
Pashtun	14%	22%	+ 8%
Kashmiri	6%	10%	+ 4%

Punjabi	1979	1990	2005
Officers	70%	67%	67%

(60% of population)

Pashtun: Officer Corps (22-25%), ISI (30-40%)

Civil War & Pakistan Military

- 600,000 volunteers, 10 million dependents, PML-Q
- Based: rural Punjab (Salt Range) and NE Pashtun (Kohat and Mardan; Yusuf-zai)
- 28 div, 2,400 tanks, 4,200 artillery, 383 combat a/c
- Unlimited violence
  - Bengal
  - Baloch
  - Kashmir
  - Mohajir

Civil War Scenario

- Pakistan’s bureaucracy strong 1954
- Pakistan’s army never loses CI
- Baloch five insurgencies: 1948, 1958-59, 1962-63, 1973-77, and 2002+ (Talibanizing)
- Suppressed 75 million Bengalis in 1970-71 with 40,000 soldiers, 10 million refugees

Expert Counter-Insurgency

- None of the opposition groups are strong: mostly Pashtun, rest Punjabi.
- The Taliban problem is entirely a Pakhtun problem.
- Uprisings vs the Brits:
- biggest was in 1897 – Malakand Force: Swat
- Uprisings also in 1860, 1919

Expert Counter-Insurgency

- Pashtun only crossed over the Indus three times: 1761 (defeated the Sikhs)
- 1831 (disaster), 1919 (disaster)

Expert Counter-Insurgency

- Afghan Ahmad Shah defeated the Sikhs at Lahore in 1761
- 80,000 strong Afghan Jihadis led by Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi in 1831
- Few thousand strong Afghan Jihadis led by Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi in 1919

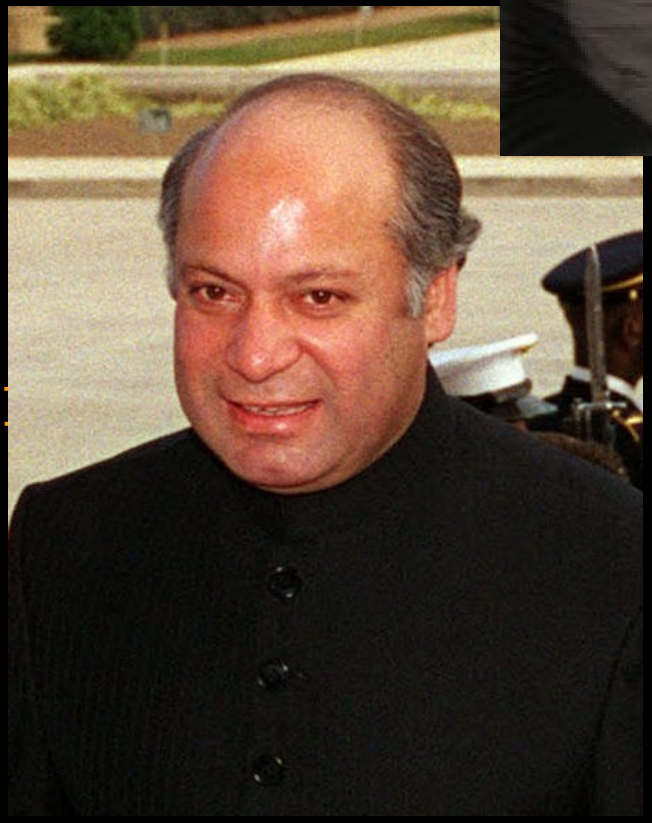
Major Political Parties

PPP

- Ali Asi Zardari

PML-N

- Nawaz Sha



Major Political Parties

PML-Q

- Pro-military / feudal
- Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain

PML-F (Functional)

- Breakaway faction from Sindh (not accepted by Nawaz Sharif)
- Pir Sahib Pagara

PPP – (Sherpao)

- PPP Breakaway faction from the NWFP
- Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao

Minor Political Parties

MQM (Muttahida Qaumi Movement)

- Altaf Hussain (exile in London)
- Farooq Sattar Pirwani

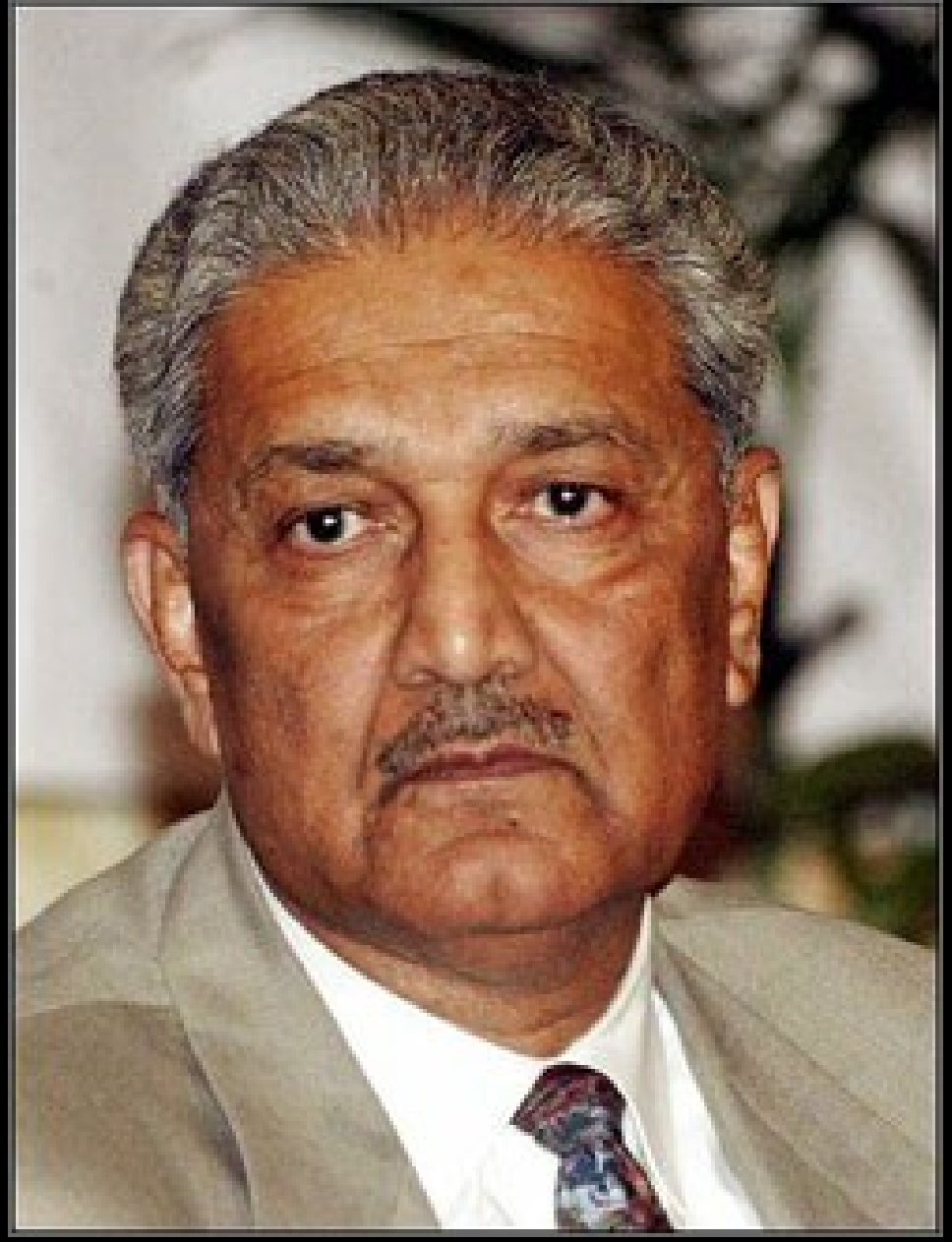
Failure to Challenge Islam

- MQM: Mohajir Party
- Urdu speaking immigrants, well educated, marginalized, Islamic state ethic
- Control Karachi (pop 18 million) and Hyderabad
- Islamic ideology of the state of Pakistan
- US seeking to engage the MQM because of control of Taliban drug routes

MQM

- 45 killed single bombing, cricket match, kidnap foreigners, mil personnel, assass senator, bomb train, shut down US embassy in Karachi
- Violence 1986-2002: 1,000 killed
- Destroyed Karachi police – never defeated

Nuclear Weapons



Minor Political Parties

ANP (Awami National Party)

- Cooperate closely with the PPP
- Senator Asfandyar Wali Khan, (grandson of Abdul Gaffar Khan)
- 4 million Pashtuns Karachi

MMA (Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal)

- Theocratic party
- Jamiat-i-Islami, Ulema-i-Islami, Jamiat Ahle-i-Hadith, JUI-F, Shia Tehrik-e-Jafaria

BNP (Baluchistan National Party – Awami) – Sardar Akhtar Malik

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

GENERAL ELECTION - 2008 --- PARTY POSITION INCLUDING RESERVED SEATS

Province-wise Breakup upto 07-03-2008

Province		FATA	Federal Capital	N.W.F.P.				Punjab				Sindh				Balochistan				Non Muslims	PARTY GRAND TOTAL
		1	2	3				4				5				6				7	
S #	Party Name			General Seats	Ind	Women	Total	General Seats	Ind	Women	Total	General Seats	Ind	Women	Total	General Seats	Ind	Women	Total		
1	PPPP	0	0	9	1	3	13	44	5	12	61	29	0	7	36	4	1	1	6	4	**120**
2	PML-N	0	2	4	0	1	5	60	4	16	80	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	**90**
3	ANP	0	0	10	0	3	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**13**
4	PML	0	0	3	0	0	3	28	0	7	35	5	0	1	6	4	0	1	5	2	**51**
5	MQM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19	0	5	24	0	0	0	0	1	**25**
6	MMA	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	3	0	**6**
7	PPP-S	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**1**
8	PML-F	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	**5**
9	NPP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	**1**
10	BNP-A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	**1**
11	Ind.	10	0	1	0	0	1	4	0	0	4	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	2	0	**18**
TOTAL		**10**	**2**	31	1	7	**39**	137	9	35	**181**	58	0	14	**72**	13	1	3	**17**	**10**	**331**

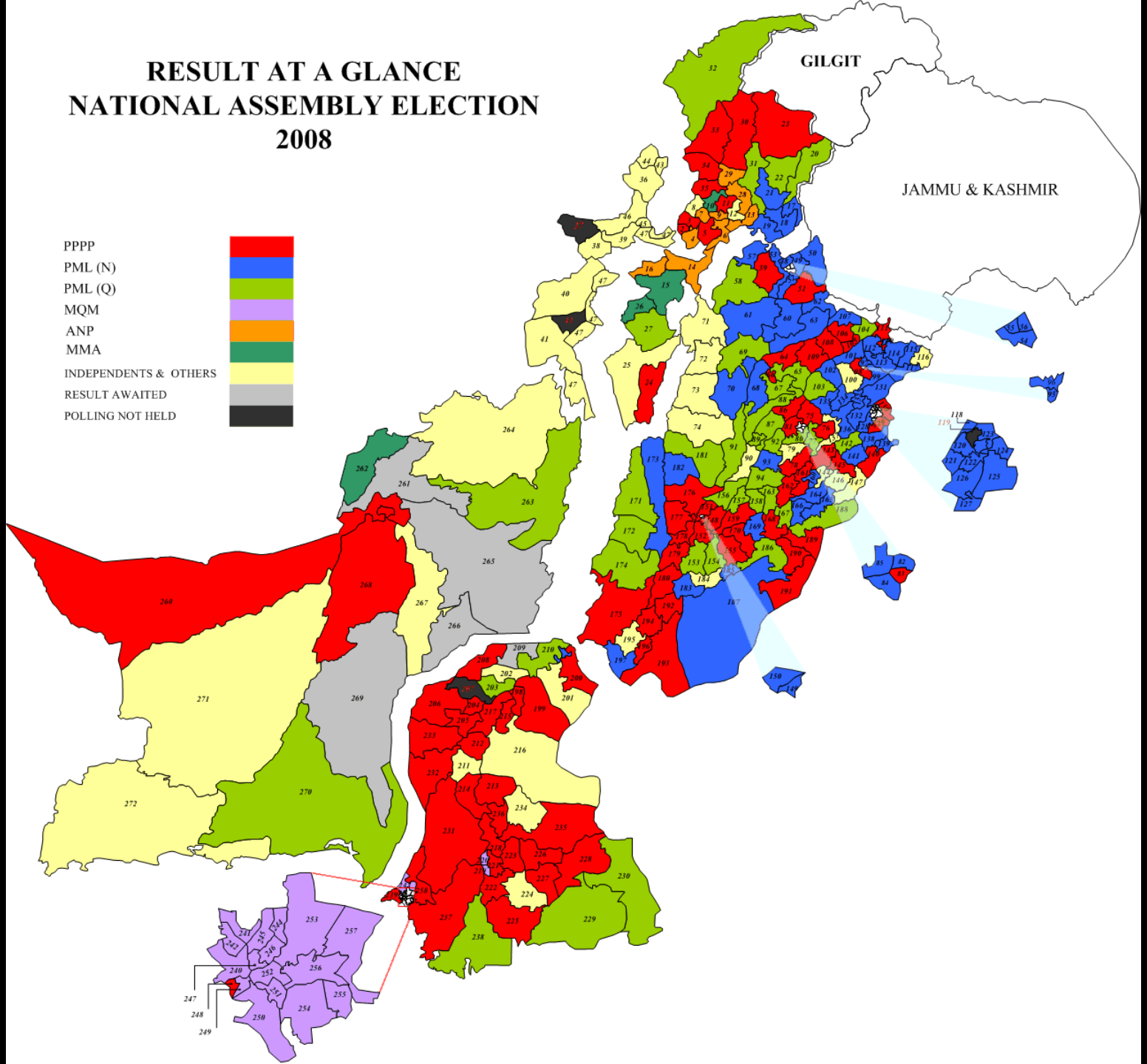
PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLIES

GENERAL ELECTION - 2008 --- PARTY POSITION INCLUDING RESERVED SEATS

Province-wise Breakup upto 07-03-2008

Province		N.W.F.P.					Punjab					Sindh					Balochistan					PARTY GRAND TOTAL
		1					2					3					4					
S #	Party Name	General Seats	IND	Women	Non Muslims	Total	General Seats	IND	Women	Non Muslims	Total	General Seats	IND	Women	Non Muslims	Total	General Seats	IND	Women	Non Muslims	Total	
1	PPPP	17	6	6	1	30	80	5	19	2	106	67	0	16	5	88	7	1	2	1	11	235
2	PML-N	5	2	2	0	9	104	27	30	4	165	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	174
3	ANP	31	5	9	1	46	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	4	50
4	PML	4	0	1	0	5	68	0	16	2	86	7	0	2	0	9	15	0	4	1	20	120
5	MQM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	39	0	9	3	51	0	0	0	0	0	51
6	MMA	10	0	3	1	14	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	2	1	10	26
7	PPP-S	6	0	1	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
8	PML-F	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	4	7	0	2	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	13
9	NPP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
10	BNP-A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	2	0	7	7
11	NP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1
12	Ind.	6	0	0	0	6	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	10	18
TOTAL		79	13	22	3	117	259	32	66	8	365	122	0	29	8	159	47	2	11	3	63	704

RESULT AT A GLANCE
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION
2008



Party	1988	1990	1993	1997
Pakistan Peoples Party	93	44	89	18
Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI)	54	106	0	0
Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)	-	-	73	137
Awami National Party	2	6	3	10
Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM)*	13	15	-	12
Jamiat-Ulema-e-Islam (Fazlur Rehman)	7	6	-	2
Other Parties/Indepenents **	38	30	42	28
Total Turnout	43.07%	45.46%	40.28%	35.42%
Total Seats	207	207	207	207

	2002	2008	Votes	% Votes
PPP	80	120	10,125,390	32.70%
PML (N)	18	90	6,393,365	20.60%
PML (Q)	118	51	7,432,918	24.00%
PML (F)		5	707,760	2.30%
MQM	17	25	2,350,377	7.60%
ANP		13	573,440	1.90%
MMA	59	7	395,110	1.30%
Other Parties	49	3		
Independent	1	18	2,802,751	9.00%
Pending Results	0	10		
	Total	342		

Election	National Assembly seats won by NAP	NWFP Provincial Assembly seats won by NAP	National percentage of polled votes
2008	10	31	?
2002	0	7	1.0%
1997	10	32	2.31
1993	03	18	1.67%
1990	06	23	1.68%
1988	02	10	2.80%

PPP (Bhutto) Faction				
Name	Motive	Worth	Rank	Industry
Asif Ali Zardari	**Benazir husband**	**$ 1.8 bn**	**2**	**Gov contract, Agro, M.E./West**
Nasir Schon (Mohajir)	**Sharif Exprop 1997**	**$ 1 bn**	**6**	**Bank, textiles, real estate**
Abdul Razzaq Yakoub (UAE)	**Zardari associate**	**$ 1 bn**	**7**	**Media, real estate, gold**
Dewan Yousaf Farooqui*	**Sindhi**	**$ 800 m**	**10**	**Textile, automotive**
Sultan Ali Lakhani*	**Sindh/v mil anti-corrupt**	**$ 800 m**	**11**	**Textile, consumer goods**
Shimmy Querishi (USA)	**Zardari associate**	**$ 480 m**	**20**	**Banking**
*probable association				

PML-N (Nawaz Sharif) Faction				
Name	Motive	Worth	Rank	Industry
Mian Muhammad Mansha Yaha	**Bhutto Exprop 1970s**	**$ 2.5 bn**	**1**	**Textiles, constr**
Nawaz Sharif & Shahbaz Sharif	**Bhutto Exprop 1970s**	**$ 1.4 bn**	**4**	**Constr, Gov contract**
Saddaruddin Hashwani*	**Bhutto Exprop 1970s**	**$ 1.1 bn**	**5**	**Hotel, textile**
Tariq Saigol & Nasim Saigol	**Bhutto Exprop 1970s**	**$ 850 m**	**9**	**Textile, banking**
Abu Bakar Sheikhani	**Business with N Sharif**	**$ 600 m**	**16**	**Real Estate, Gwadar**
Razzaq Dawood (UAE)	**Bhutto Exprop 1970s**	**$ 500 m**	**17**	**Construction, M.E.**
Jehangir Elahi	**Brother of Mian Mansha**	**$ 400 m**	**27**	**Power plants**
Saddiq & Sons*	**Business with N Sharif**	**$ 260 m**	**41**	**Sugar mills, real estate**
Kasim Dada*	**Bhutto Exprop 1970s**	**$ 200 m**	**44**	**Auto parts, chemicals**
*probable association				

PML-Q (Quaid-i-Azam - Musharraf) Faction				
Name	Motive	Worth	Rank	Industry
Malik Riaz Hussain*	**Military connections**	**$ 800 m**	**12**	**Real estate**
Javid Saifullah (Pakhtun)*	**Military marriages**	**$ 440 m**	**26**	**Textiles, telecoms**
Noon family (Zamindar)*	**---**	**$ 380 m**	**29**	**Textile, construction**
*probable association				

Unaffiliated				
Name	Motive	Worth	Rank	Industry
Sir Anwar Pervaiz (UK)	---	**$ 1.5 bn**	**3**	**Cement, UK**
Rafiq Habib & Rasheed Habib	---	**$ 900 m**	**8**	**Bank, Auto. Textile**
Sheikh Abid Hussain	---	**$ 780 m**	**13**	**Real estate**
Mian Mohammed Latif	---	**$ 700 m**	**14**	**Textiles, M.E.**

Why Poor Pakistan Policy?

- Canada NATO > Afghanistan

- US (speculation):
- (1). Not provoke an Islamist coup
- (2). Believe that Pakistan is not able to affect the Taliban
- (3). Not provoke PRC (DPRK, Taiwan).
- (4). Not provoke Saudi Arabia (key to Middle East).

Pakistan's Allies

What Does Pakistan Want?

Return to the state of affairs in 1963-1973

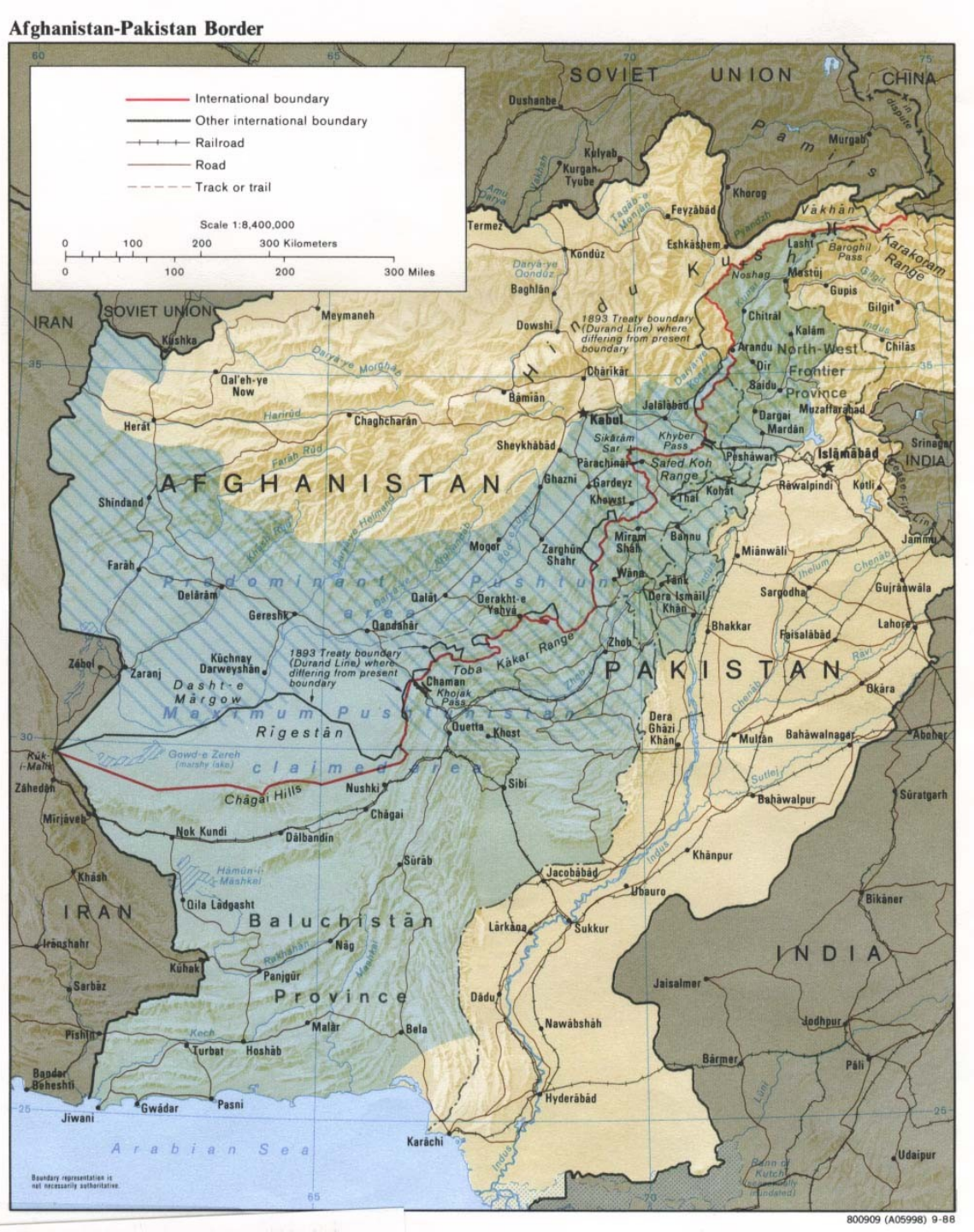
Cessation of support for Pashtun nationalism either:

1. by having a strong Kabul or
2. weakening Kabul

504491 5-80 (545359)

- Dec 1947 demand access to sea
- 1947

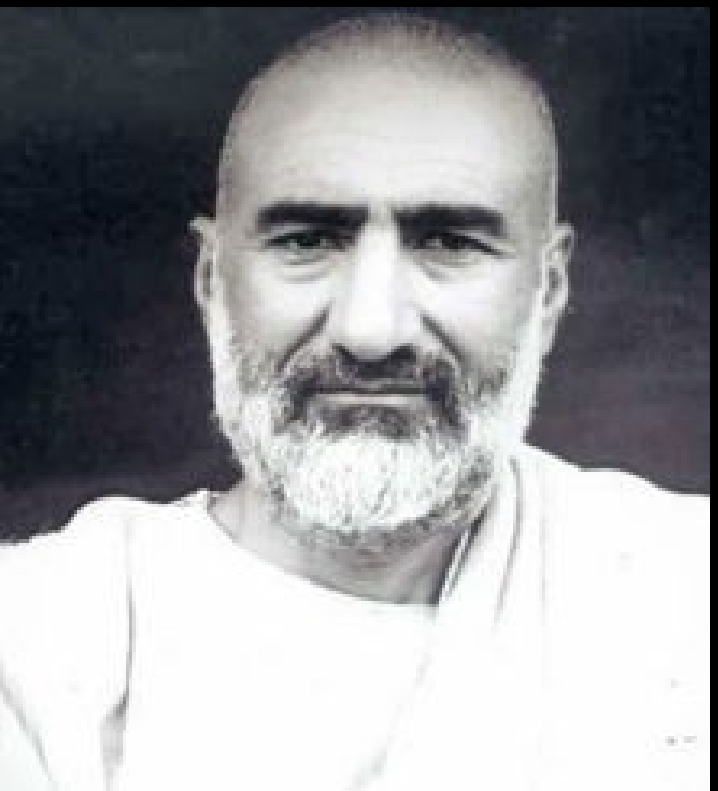
  Pakhtunistan Claim
- 1950-1960s

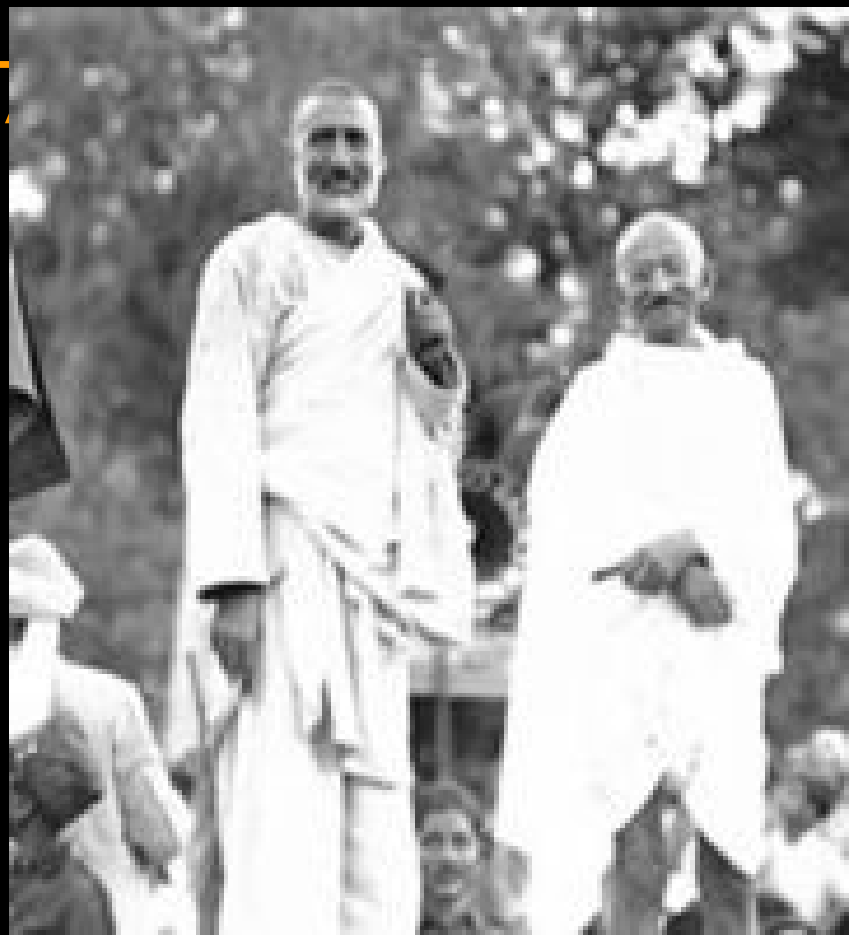


AFGHANISTAN 1772
AHMAD SHAH DURRANI EMPIRE
AFGHANLAND.COM
Biskek
orgia
Azerbaijan
Tabriz
Rasht
Turkmenistan
Asgabat
China
Mashhad
Tehran
Irbil
kuk
Qom
Baghdad
Afghanistan
Peshawar
Esfahan
Iran
Gujranwala
al-Basrah
Kerman
Pakistan
Ludhiana
Shiraz
Zahedan
Bahawalpur
Delhi
Bikaner
Nepal
ad-Dammam
Agra
Kanpur
Ajmer
Patna
Dubai
Karachi
Kota
Allahabad
Saudi
Arabia
United Arab
Emirates
Jabalpur
Ahmadabad
Bhopal
India
Surat
Nagpur

Partition History

- Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan
  - Red Shirts
- Sardar Ibrahim
- Jihad in Kashmir 194

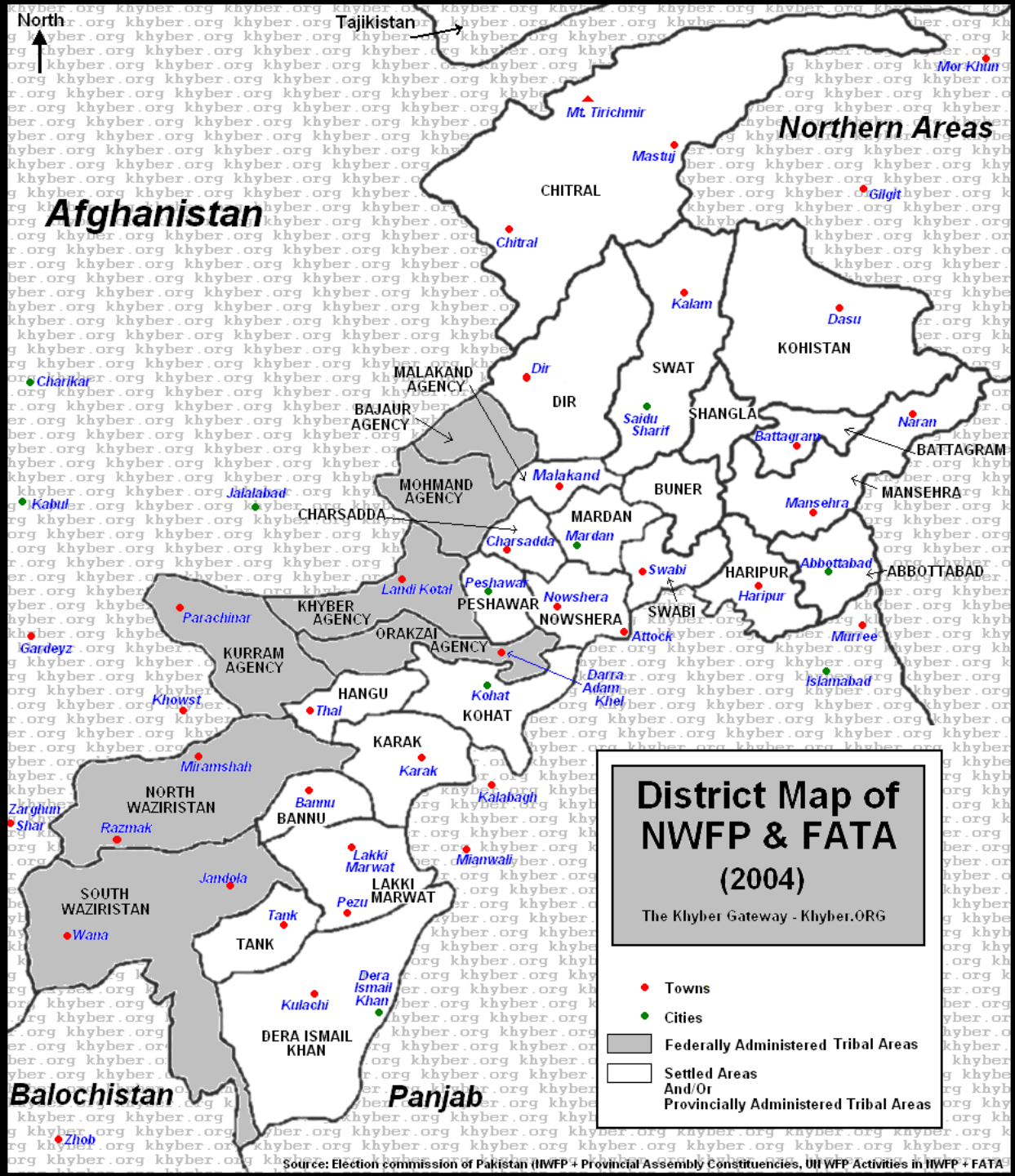




1953 Prime Minister

Mohammad Daud Khan

- 1951 Afghan Army infiltration
- 1953 P.M. Mohammad Daud Khan
- March 1955
  70,000 Afghan mobilize
- Sep 1960
  infiltration: Bajaur
- May 1961
  infiltration: Dir
- Fall 1961
- 1962-1963 sporadic infiltration
- Pakistan:
  Lesson Learned:
  Local security



- 1963-1973 Royal Peace with Pakistan
- Afghanistan supports Pakistan 1965 & 1971
- 1973 [illegible]nah

Pakistan's War in Afghanistan

Causes:

1. Pakhtun Secessionism
2. Non-recognition of the Durand Line
3. Support to India

- 1995 - Zahir Shah
- 1996 – Benazir Bhutto supports Taliban
- Taliban never recognizes Durand Line

- Hakimullah Mehsud
- Tehrek-e-Taliban-Pakistan
- al Qaeda
- No separatists
- Swat (neutralize)
- Mohmand (victory)
- Bajaur (victory)

Trade

- third party trade transit rights for Afghanistan to India
- economic development will fail
- 2009 Afghanistan Transit Trade Agreement ATTA
- Pakistan not permit direct road or rail to India
- Pakistan main trading partner (US$1.7bn 2007),
- Re-exports, dumping

Trade

- Kabul shift its trade northwards to Soviet Union
- trade embargo in 1961
- Resumed 1963 (Iran mediation)
- revised ATTA in 1965, never fully restored the status quo ante

Strong Kabul

- If NATO can deliver a strong regime in Kabul strong enough to resist the temptation of stoking secessionism in Pakistan, then Islamabad will cooperate.
- Misconception: ISI Contact with Taliban
- Misconception: Afghanistan Support for suppression of Taliban:
- While the Kabul government accuses Pakistan of harboring insurgents in the tribal areas, it would be the **first to object to a military occupation and consolidation of control of those regions**.

Failure to Engage Islam

- Why:
- (1). Fear of blowback
- (2). NATO is secular – not promote Islam
- Policy: patronage local sufi tariqas and pir shrines and families + urban Hanafi ulema
- Islam is malleable
- Pakhtunwali; Pashtun lashkars militia > tax

The Deoband

- Quetta Shura – Deobandi – Mullah Mohamad Omar: Shura > Loya Jirga
- Jamaat-i-Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) party. access refugees madrassahs
- Deobandiism 1867 1831 Jihad Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi + 1857 Great Mutiny
- popular Pashtun beginning 20th Century

Reaction to Decline

- Deobandiism Islamic reaction erosion Mughal power 18th century (Hindus)
- Mawdudi Jamiat-i-Islami bureaucrats turned religious leaders
- rise of European colonialism in the 19th century.
- Muslims: how to recapture the greatness of their community.
- Paradise: martyrdom
- Islam: law > metaphysics

Islamic Revival

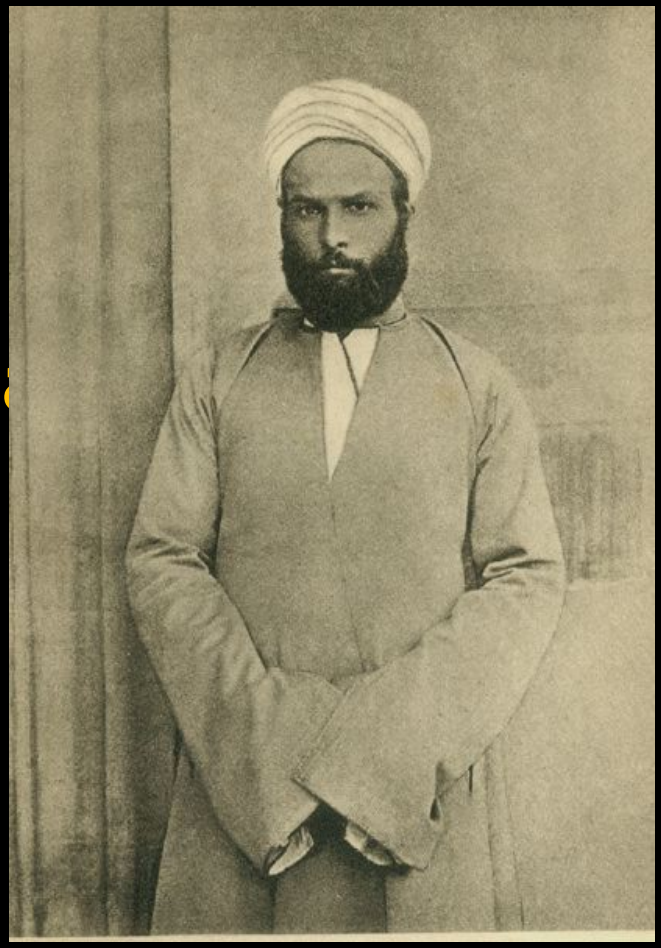
- Faradiyah
- Mawlawi Sahri’atullah of Delhi in 1802 Mecca
- Wahhabi Hanbali fiqh Koran - ijtihad
- Hanafi-consistent Koran and the Hadith, but stripped of Hindu + political role of Islam

The Modern Reformers

- 19th century Jamal al-Din al-Afghani

Modern Reformers

- Muhammad Abduh, al Azha University Cairo salafist a Hanafi variant of Wahhabism
- Islamic code of the Arab Abbasid Caliphate, free of Sufiism and Persian influence
- Sayyid Qutb scholar of Abduh



The Sufi and Pir Impulse

- most Sunni Afghans, rural and urban: Sharia + Sufi + local shrines + pir worship
- discouraged by formal Islam

Sufi tariqa

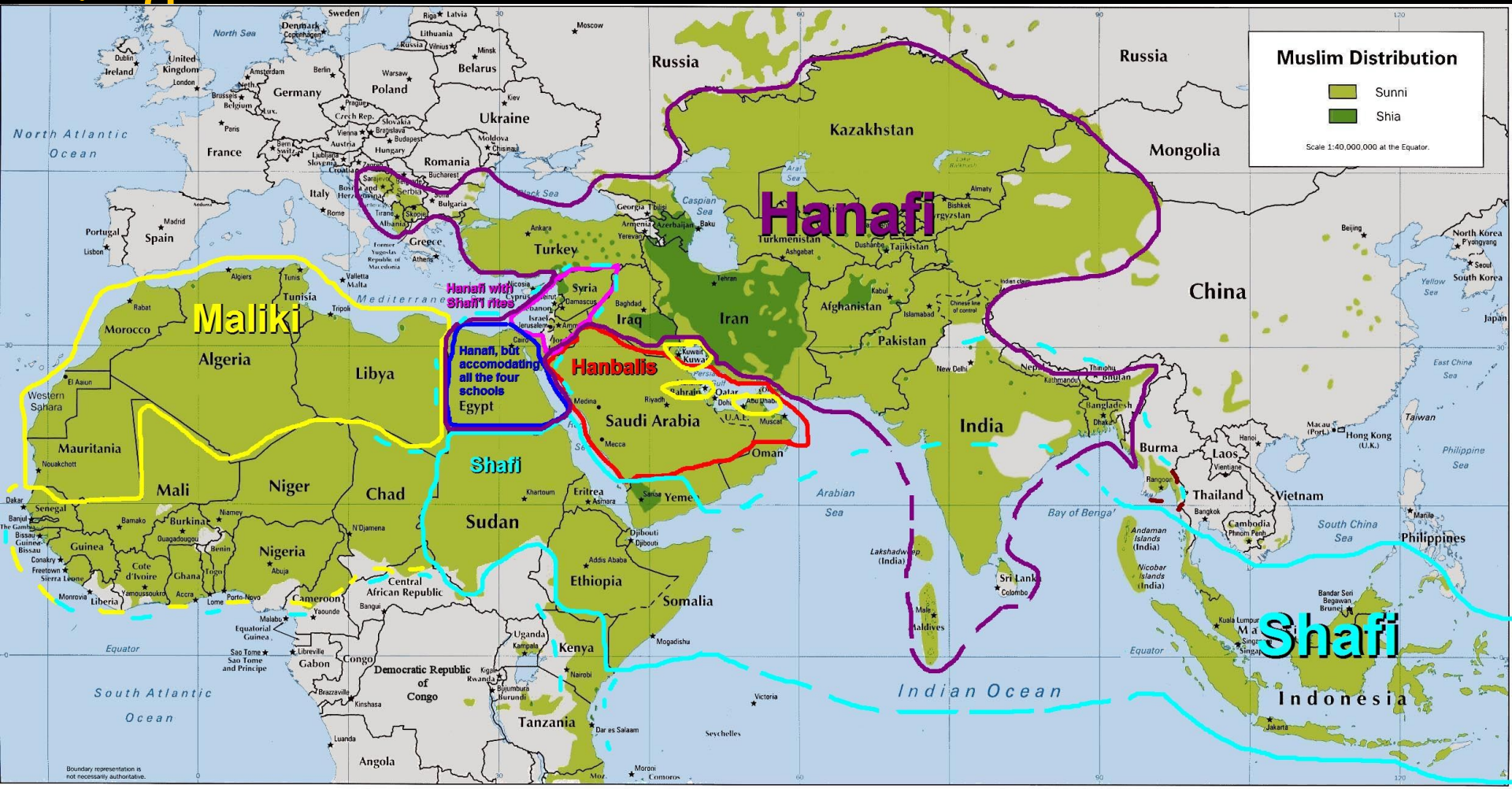
- Three Sufi tariqas (orders) Afghanistan 500 yrs tradition:
- Naqshbandiya (especially Kabul)
- Qadiriya (eastern P and Kandahar)
- Chistis.

Ijtihad and Ijma

- Afghans Hanafi (fiq): ijtihad (legal speculation) and ijma (consensus)
- rival strict Hanbali Arabia limited -ijtihad – Ijma

Flexible Fiqh

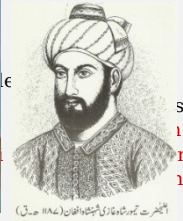
- ijtihad + ijma adaptation of Islam in South Asia, Buddhist + Hindu



Sufism stronger than Salafist

- Deobandism (Hanafi salafist)
  = Hanbali fiqh v Sufism
- Ahl-i-Hadith, Hanbali
- Deobandi austere lifestyles of Pashtun refugees Deobandi rejection Sufism: will fail

	Ahmad Shah 1773-1793	Timur Shah 1826-39, 1842-63	Amir Dost	Amir Sher Ali 1869-1879	Abdur Rahman 1880-1901	1901-1919	Amir Habibullah 1919-1929	1929-1933	Amanullah Khan 1933-1973	Nadir Shah	Zahir Shah	Durrani	Muhammad Khan	Khan	Khan	1747-1773
Ascend	Elected															
Rule	Draconian															
End	Assass															
Base	Tribes															
Tribe	Durrani															
Religion	Patron															
Legitimacy																
Revenue	Booty	---	---			---	Bacha									
Taxation	Failed	---	---	---	---	---	Saqqao	---	---							
Bureaucr.	---	---	---	Founded	Strengthen		Independent		Bankrupt	Police						
Army	---	---	---	---	Conscription	---	Revolt	40,000	Modern							
Law	---	---	---	---	Reform	---	---	Hanafi	Rights							
Durrani	---	Revolts	---	---	---	---	Revolt	---	---							
Ghilzai	Weak	Subdue	Subdue	---	Relocated	---	---	---	---							
Tajik	Defeat	Subdue	Reassertion		---	Suppress	---	Revolt	Crushed	---						
Uzbek	Defeat	Subdue	Reassertion	---	Crushed	---	---	---	---							
Hazaras	Defeat	Conquer	Subdue	---	Crushed	---	---	---	---							
Qizilbish	---	Privileged		Privileged		---	---	---	---	---	---					
Reform	---	---	---	Education		Koranic	Limited	Women	Limited	Women						
Aid	---	---	British	British	British	Turkish	British	British	Soviet,US							
War v India	8 attacks	---	Sikhs	1839-42, 1878	---	Cautious	1919	---	---							



Bacha Saqqao

Failure to Engage Islam

- **Malleability**
- Islam in Afghanistan 1200 years
- end of the 19th century Abdur Rahman Khan Pakhtunwali > Sharia family law
- 1931 Nadir Shah legalized Hanafi fiqh
- Mughal UK patronage sufi shrines rural counter balance Islamic revivalism
- Anglo-Oriental College Aligarh + Muslim League v Islam created Pakistan

Failure to Engage Islam

- Sufi tariqa:
- Habibullah Kalakani, a Tajik of the Naqshbandiya tariqa, 1929 Jihad
- Mawlana Faizani, Qadiriya tariqa pirs v. PDPA (People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan)
- Naqshbandi + Chisti, tabligh > NATO
- Ulema passive v colonialism ; no converts during colonialism.

Failure to Engage Islam

- India and Pakistan: Barelvi: Pir Jamaat Ali Shah (Qadiri tariqa pir) joined Naqshbandi + Imam Ahmad Reza
- decline of Islam Hanafi Sharia ulama through sufiism
- fight Deoband Hanbali Ahl-i-Hadith control of mosques, fatalities
- Aid: Pakistan Barelvi India

Limits of Islam

- Hekmatyar’s Hizb-e-Islami Gilzhai
- communist, self-admitted nationalist

Conclusion

- Cause of the Afghan War
- What Pakistan wants
- Engaging Islamic ideas in Afghanistan